5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14



asked about this the reply was not as I expected it to be, that Andrew's daughters were attending school and would be averse to such a marriage but 'we just gave Kewele to Maseriba because she is *khadi* (i.e., sister in a ritual sense) and "to knit together the family" (*ho ruka leloko*)'. This desire to keep alive the links between brother and sister and to maintain and renew marriage links with women of the lineage from one generation to another is very strong. The marriage of a woman at her father's sister's (i.e., mother's brother's daughter marriage) is called '*ho dusa moloko*'—to awaken or renew relationship.

There are several variations of mother's brother's daughter marriage that arise from or are bound up with obligations connected with cattle that have passed. If in the case of cattle-linked brother and sister (D and C in Figure 2a), the latter has a daughter but no son who could marry her brother's daughter, she might, rather than break the link with her brother and allow her husband to use the cattle to create new links with strangers, nevertheless, with the agreement and consent of her husband, hand over her daughter E's bride-price to her brother D so that he can marry a second wife and establish a 'house' from which her daughter E may claim a woman later to marry her son and to 'come and cook for her'. Here marriage (of F to G) is with the mother's mother's brother's daughter. When such girl is actually married bride-price will again pass. If, in such a marriage, the woman were to run away or if there were a divorce, both bride-prices could be claimed, as we saw in the 1930's. Today, however, probably as a result of European administrative policy, only one bride-price is paid back, though it is commonly known that both used to be returned.

Besides marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter, other variations of mother's brother's daughter marriage are found, such as marriage with the mother's brother's son's daughter (one generation below), with the father's mother's brother's daughter or even with a father's mother's brother's son's daughter.

The fact that in the above example of marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter two lots of bride-price are handed over yet only one bride is received, indicates that the economic aspect is not paramount; it is the permanent link

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938,1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14



between descendants of brother and sister that is valued. In cases where a man has received cattle on the 'security' of a small girl, to all appearances a predominantly economic transaction, the creditor also hands over cattle a second time when the girl comes over to be married. This is puzzling. When asked about it the Lobedu usually quote the proverb '*mobula ndo oa nywala*—the opener or establisher of a "house" pays marriage cattle', i.e., every girl commands bride-price. The explanation possibly lies in regarding the passing of property in the case of wife No. 2 of D in Figure 2a and also the first handing over of property in an economic transaction on the security of a girl as the creation of a cattle-link similar to handing over to a brother the bride-price of his sister to acquire

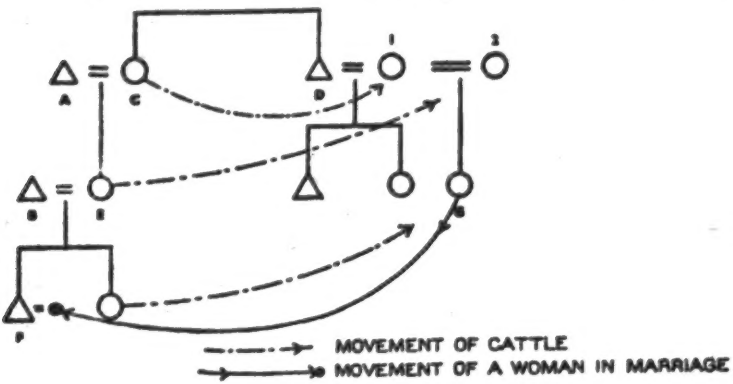


FIG. 2A.

a wife. The subsequent transactions are then on a par with ordinary preferential marriage between the children of cattle-linked brother and sister.

If, in contrast to the case illustrated in Figure 2a where the cattle-linked sister has no son to marry her brother's daughter, it is the brother who has no daughter to give in marriage to his sister's son then sometimes, as in a recent case, the preferred marriage takes place in the next generation. Here (see Figure 2b) the daughter (G) of the son of C's cattle-linked half-brother (D) married the son (F) of the son of the cattle-linked sister (C). In this case E had a brother to use her cattle and there was no need for her cattle to be sent to the mother's brother to establish a new 'house' or 'open a gate', as it is sometimes phrased.

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14



58
602

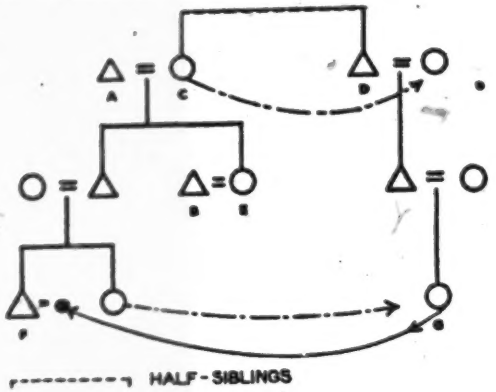


FIG. 2B.

Once a marriage has taken place, even where originating in an economic arrangement, the relationship is self-perpetuating as is shown in Sedena's case. Sedena's elder brother (A in Figure 3) used the bride-price of their only sister; so when Makeakati, his daughter (C), was born this elder brother said to Sedena (B), 'There are your cattle', indicating his baby daughter. When the girl was eight years old and her father already dead, Sedena (B) took her to Mogodo (D), a relative (a classificatory 'sister's son', descendant of his father's half-brother), and, indicating that she was his *ledolo*, asked for cattle to marry a wife. He was given cattle which he used to marry Marita (E). In due course when Makeakati (C) grew up she was sent to marry Mogodo (D), who gave five head of cattle as bride-price (five to eight is the usual amount). Many years later Marita's only daughter, Mojaji (F), followed her 'sister'

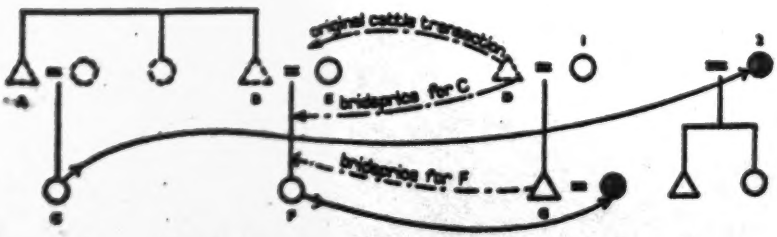


FIG. 3. Preferential marriages arising out of an economic arrangement.

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938,1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14



and married Nakampe (G), Mogodo's son by another wife. Makeakati's (C's) 'house' had first claim on the daughter of the man (her father's brother) who had used her cattle, but as her son was a Christian the girl was given to the son of a different 'house'.

Once a link has been created by a marriage a bride-giving-bride-receiving relationship follows, which tends to be reinforced not only by one but by numerous subsequent marriages. Thus, A married a girl from lineage B. Both his sons and his grandson followed in his footsteps (see Figure 4).

The same tendency is present in Lobedu polygyny where the sororate is very popular. Most Lobedu who are not Christians have more than one wife. But it will almost always be found

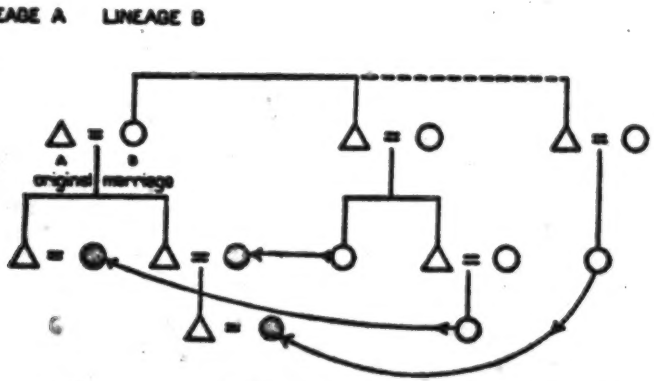


FIG. 4. Reinforcement down the generations of a marriage link between two lineages.

that at least one is a sister or younger relative of one of the other wives. Thus M, a chief councillor, married seven wives: (1) his mother's uterine brother's daughter; (2) his mother's half-brother's daughter; (3) his mother's half-brother's daughter's son's daughter; (4) a non-relative; (5) a non-relative; (6) his mother's brother's son's daughter (brother's daughter to No. 2 and therefore a wife's brother's daughter); (7) a sister to (1) by the same father but a different mother.

S, a man in his thirties, has three wives: (1) his mother's mother's brother's daughter; (2) a non-relative and (3) the uterine sister of his first wife.

Old K had five wives: (1) his mother's uterine brother's

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

## LOBEDU PROPERTY, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

(h) The incidence of cross-cousin marriage and its variations in two generations of descendants of A (counting only the actual members of his lineage as shown in Figure 9) over a time-span of over sixty years (i.e., from about 1895 to 1962) was 31 per cent (nine out of twenty-nine marriages).

The arrangements in the above lineage segment are by no means unusual. This lineage is that of a district head, but it is representative of numbers of cases that could be chosen from among non-Christian traditionalists who still form the majority of the tribe.

### REFERENCES

KRIGE, E. J. and J. D. 1945. *The Realm of a Rain Queen*, London, Oxford University Press.

—— 1950. 'The Lobedu of the Transvaal', in *African Worlds*, ed. D. Forde, London, Oxford University Press.

KRIGE, E. J. 1941. Economics of Exchange in a Primitive Society; *The South African Journal of Economics*, 9, No. 1.

KRIGE, J. D. 1939. 'The significance of Cattle Exchanges in Lobedu Social Structure', *Africa*, 22, No. 4.

LEACH, E. R. 1951. 'The structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 81.